

Trial of Messrs. Pitt, George, and

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S P E E C H

OF

BOISSY D'ANGLAS,

In the Sitting of the Sixth Fructidor, R

ON THE

POLITICAL SITUATION

OF

E U R O P E.

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for peruse



S P E E C H,

&c.

CITIZENS, the Roman Republic confirmed its liberty by the victories of her warriors, by the dextrous policy of her Consuls, and the austere equity of her Magistrates. Always attacked and always triumphant, incessantly irritated, but ever mistress of herself—eternally combated by the arts of her rivals, but always disconcerting their intrigues; all the efforts of her enemies served but to render her power solid, her possessions more extensive, and her glory more brilliant.

The French Republic, from her birth, appears to have been reserved for the same destiny. She has been menaced by numerous enemies; she has been attacked by kings, agitated by factions, betrayed by rebels, and subjected to the tyranny of demagogues. Ever victorious, but without ceasing to be pacific; terrible in fight, but uniformly wise after success; she has forced her enemies, whilst they admired her courage, to praise her moderation. The nations which now sue to her for peace, find it as easy to negotiate, as it was impossible to conquer.

But though pride has been humbled, and vengeance disappointed, these passions are obstinate enemies, which nothing can persuade or subdue. In vain has the awful will of a great people overthrown them by its explosion; they recover after every fall, they forget their disasters, form their plans a-new, and still dream of success. When driven far from our frontiers, they exert themselves in the interior of our country; they seek to distract us by their intrigues, and to mislead us by their perfidy. When the God of battle has been deaf to their prayers, they invoke the aid of Famine, and all her accompanying scourges. When their swords are broken, political mercenaries and hireling pens offer new instruments to their hatred, new aliment to their fury, and new phantoms for their purposes of illusion; even at this moment they are about to recur to another great effort.

The coalition which we have subdued, after having tried every method which could tend to our overthrow on the 1st of Prairial, placed their last reliance on a bold invasion, to be executed by desperate men, who had no alternative but success or death. The English Government, now become the sole support of a war, of which,

most probably, it was from the beginning the secret agent, directed all its views towards this expedition. It furnished the expence of this immense armament, such a one as should have been drawn from England only in her greatest peril. It payed subsidies to Austria and Piedmont, for the purpose of making a diversion. It had raised two corps of Emigrants; the one which was disembarked in the West, and the army of Conde, which was to endeavour to penetrate in the opposite direction.

The attention of Europe was fixed in suspense on this immense effort. The timidity of some of the neutral powers caught a momentary alarm: the indecision of others was increased. We appeared to them as on the verge of an abyss, so much the more dangerous as it was not perceived. A system of perfidy was organized, and was executed by the Chouans, and the rebels of La Vendee. The amnesty which had been granted to them was represented as an act of powerless concession. Their hostilities, or, properly speaking, their assassinations, recommenced. Our fleet received a check, (*this alludes to the victory obtained by Lord Bridport*) and the English vomitted on our coast a swarm of Frenchmen, some of whom were volunteers, but others were forced into the attempt of organizing amongst us a Civil War—the atrocious object of all these preparations on the part of the confederates.

They thought less of subjugating us by this expedition, than of preventing us from this day acquiring that stability which is to fix our destiny—than of stopping us in the midst of our conquests—than of depriving us of the means of making peace—than of detaching us from our allies—than of launching new scourges to destroy our population, to desolate our agriculture, to suspend the activity of our industry, and, above all—to retard the moment of the acceptance of the Constitution which you are about to adopt, in order to consolidate for ever our glorious Revolution.

The English Government attached yet one hope more from this invasion; it was desirous on one side to re-animate the vain desire of those who amongst us still regret royalty, to present to their eyes this phantom which they follow; and on the other, they were anxious to raise again that state of mistrust and alarm, which leads at first to violent measures, afterwards to crimes, and at last to tyranny. The heroism of our Republican soldiers has destroyed, in a few hours, the profound combinations of atrocious policy. All the scourges which the English Government were desirous of raising up against us, have recoiled upon itself. It was desirous to render us suspected by the neutral or allied powers, and it is itself which is rendered odious to every one of them, by its tyrannical proceedings, by its piracies upon the seas, by its deceitful alliances. It was desirous to exhaust us of all our resources, and whilst it pursued this end, it is itself which has consumed its own. It has charged itself with all the expences of the coalition it sustains, in order to lay on us a burthen greater perhaps than that which we impose on ourselves for our defence. It is desirous to shackle our commerce, but it attacks at the same time that of its own nation, in shutting it out from the immense market established for her
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in the midst of us. It is anxious to defame us, and it is itself that is dishonoured, by the perfidious assistance given to the miserable wretches whom it has sent to death, and whom it has wickedly abandoned.

Far be from us that unjust system, which renders a whole nation responsible for the faults of its government.

The cries of the English People already indignantly resound from all quarters: every day this disastrous war becomes more insupportable to them—every day want raises in their towns the most pressing remonstrances. Ah! that honour, the first want of the people—that outraged humanity—might make them hear the alarm! That the Opposition Party, honoured by its constancy in unveiling so many faults and so many horrors, in predicting the ill success of it—in protesting against the continuance, may at length shew itself with the imposing character of National Opposition. This is the wish which induces us to desire the repose of Europe, and it will soon be realized. The English Government is itself afraid of it. Astonished at the spectacle of our victories, at the dissolution of the league of Kings, and above all, at the destruction of that internal tyranny which itself had encouraged, and which so powerfully seconded its schemes, it begins to fear the winding up of those bloody scenes which it has rashly given birth to, and has not been able to sustain. It knows that the brave and free nation which it directs, always in love with liberty, cannot long be seduced by the sophisms of an immoral policy, nor by the illusions of a false glory. It dreads the moment, which is not far distant, when this equitable and severe nation, demanding of it a rigorous account of its conduct, will address it in these terrible words:

“ Why hast thou drawn us into a war of prejudice against reason; of fanaticism against toleration; of despotism against liberty?

Why hast thou dissipated our treasures in paying subsidies to powers disposed to peace; by this perfidious assistance of whom thou hast only prolonged errors, and multiplied defeats?

Why, in pretending to be desirous of raising again a broken throne, hast thou sought to dismember the very kingdom which thou announcedst thyself willing to re-establish, in precariously seizing, in the name of thy king, upon Corsica, which thou can’st not keep; the port of Toulon, which thou hast evacuated so cowardly; upon colonies which thou hast not known how to defend, even against a few negroes and a small number of planters, armed only with their courage?

Why, in contempt of all those principles of philosophy and humanity, which had hitherto gained us so glorious a rank among all nations, hast thou organized this horrible system of false paper and of famine, which, if it had completely succeeded, might have delivered over to death and to the convulsions of despair, twenty-five millions of men—whose sole crime was their desire to be free, and their refusal to subject themselves to the yoke of strangers?

By what ignorance, at first engaging Holland in thy quarrel, hast thou so ill supported her, that thy army, cut to pieces in its retreat, has been forced to go and hide in the heart of Germany, the shame which the perfidy of thy combinations had prepared for it, in thus
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abandoning a republic which would have been destroyed, if the generosity of the French had not rather chosen to raise up those they had vanquished, and to make of them faithful allies, in preference to unhappy subjects.

By what perfidy, incessantly enflaming the passions of the Emigrants, flattering their delirium, irritating their grief, and plunging them more and more into the abyss which ought to have swallowed them up, hast thou every where excited them to attack their country; and hast finished by casting them on the coasts on which they were born, and in delivering them up, without means of defence, to the swords of those whom they had betrayed, and to the severity of their laws?

By what disastrous policy hast thou abandoned the only system which would have been proper for us—that of a *neutrality*, which would have brought an accumulation of prosperity on our commerce?

By what abominable policy, after having deprived England of the circulation of her commodities—impoverished her agriculture—shackled the individual liberty of her citizens—crushed to pieces one part of her manufactures, darest thou aspire to give laws to wiser governments, who are desirous to remain in a state of neutrality, for the purpose of putting some parts of Europe in shelter from the horrors of that war which thou alone art willing to render universal.”

These numerous reproaches resound beforehand to the terrified ears of the English government; it is loaded with the burden of them, and the terror which they inspire in it is the true motive of the conduct which it pursues. It knows, that in that country peace is scarcely ever made by the Minister who entered upon the war; he fears to become a memorable and terrible example, which would prove that responsibility is not a vain word. He knows the genius of his nation; and, persuaded that their only fault is too great an inclination for that brilliant glory, which too often makes them forget true glory, he is anxious to finish the war by some splendid conquest, which may deceive the reason of the English people; to flatter their vanity; and to escape the accusation which awaits him, by covering, with a few laurels, the deep wounds which he has inflicted on his injured country. It is to attain this end that he has redoubled his efforts to vanquish us. What imports it to him that his allies lose their dominions—that the coalition sees his destructive projects? Let the treasure of the people of England be squandered away at Vienna, at Turin, at Verona, in the army of Conde, provided that he can prolong the war, and make the diversion which is useful to himself; what signifies to him the gold of England, provided that by spreading it in France he can raise up new factions there—divide there our means—and carry into its bosom every dreadful calamity?

What does he care for the immense quantities of stores and provisions lost upon our coasts by the legions of emigrant rebels—what signifies to him the blood of men, provided he can eternize our internal dissensions; that he can cause Frenchmen to cut the throats of Frenchmen? provided, that in thus occupying us with our personal defence, he may hope to strengthen himself in Corsica—to take several of our possessions in the two Indies, and to obtain the shameful cession of them by

the exhausted state in which he supposes us? He flatters himself, that these new flowers of the English crown will make him find grace in the eye of the nation's self-love, and will induce them to pardon him for having shed their blood, squandered their riches, ruined their commerce, weakened their liberty, belied their principles, and compromised their reputation.

But in one of these hopes he will yet be deceived. Mr. Pitt will not realise it, and there will remain to him only shame, and the execrations of the people he has so shamefully abused. The peace with Spain ought to convince him, that Corsica cannot long remain in his possession, and that the love of liberty which has always characterised its inhabitants will restore it to the freest people in the world. Every thing announces to us that our Colonies, by the energies of their brave inhabitants, know how to resist his audacious enterprizes; on the contrary, the insurrections in the English islands ought to presage the loss to him not only of his conquests, but of his ancient possessions. His ambition will be deceived. If it had even had complete success, what could have happened from it? All the maritime powers, Spain, France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, justly alarmed, would have leagued themselves against him, and England would have acquired, by the follies of her ministers, only the hatred of her neighbours, and the loss of her treasures. Thus his plan, only condemnable because it ought to miscarry, would have been a source of sorrow to his country if it had succeeded; this it is which the reason of the English people will soon feel; they see that we are no longer governed by incendiaries and Vandals; that we affix to ourselves no longer the disastrous pretension of being willing to become apostles in politics, and to propagate systems; that we deal sincerely with all governments who wish for peace—we respect them all, whatever may be their forms; and in the same degree as we are averse from any interference in our government, we are equally disinclined to interfere in those of other nations. We wish to live free under the reign of the laws, and in harmony with those who do not wish to restrain this liberty. In offering peace to the whole universe, we wish it to be on terms as moderate to our enemies as honourable to ourselves.

The English nation has been deceived by the ill-founded and personal anxiety of its king, and by the erroneous and ambitious systems of his ministers. The French have been a long time deceived by the errors of an exaggerated philanthropy, and an impolitic theory: in the end they have been oppressed by artful tyrants, cruel and fanatic, whose fury and whose power the invasion of the enemy served to aid and to cement. But we are cured of our errors and relieved from our tyrants. The English, who are enlightened, render us justice; they value our generous efforts to escape from all tyrannies; they see us with satisfaction animated by the same sentiments which they have ever acknowledged, and offer up with us sincere vows for the return of the calm of peace, after the storms of war. They wish for the establishment of a friendship between two people, whose energy and whose industry ought always to render them emulous of each other, but who have been made enemies by the ambition of their Ministers. This
 pacific

pacific disposition of the English nation is not unknown to the tyrant Pitt.

It is to prevent the extension of this disposition, to prevent its becoming general, and to prevent the sword being wrested from his bloody hands, that he causes to be circulated in London various publications to alarm the men of property in England, by attempting to prove, that where there is no king, there can be no security for property. He wishes it to be believed that the influence of a great republic, so near a neighbour, must be dangerous to the safety of the British constitution; that if France is tranquil and happy, the example will produce a revolution in the British government; that if France is agitated, her convulsions will be communicated to the surrounding nations, and that in consequence the war must be carried on with obstinacy, to prevent the establishment of a republic in France.

Here we discover a new kind of war which the inhuman Minister of England wages against us. We have counteracted his military efforts and his sanguinary devastations by our courage; we will also annihilate his sophisms by our frankness. I conceive it will be as easy as it is important to prevent the delusion of nations by such malignant errors, which must necessarily disperse at the appearance of the first ray of truth. In the war which we have hitherto sustained, chance may sometimes have operated; but in the war of opinion now declared against us, our triumph is far more secure, for our arms are reason and principles, and we have to combat only with prejudices and passions.

There is nothing so unjust, yet so common, as to attribute to this or that form of government the misfortunes and the crimes which may be found in all countries, which shew themselves in a thousand different appearances, and which are reproduced in all centuries, and which not being the result of principle, but on the contrary being constantly the effect of private passions, are only to be imputed to individuals, and not to the influence of the laws. Personal security and the protection of property form the true basis of every political association.

When any government is invested with authority, is it not for the protection of individual right? If it does not perform this duty—if the power instituted for the common good of a nation, wantonly imprisons, punishes, and plunders the objects of its jealousy or detestation—is the intention of the social compact, therefore, to be accused? Is it not evident, on the contrary, that the compact is dissolved, and that the legitimate authority is converted into a tyranny; either, by means of a faction, which substitutes the licentiousness of anarchy for the liberty of a republic; or by legitimate authority, enforcing the oppression of despotism? In these two cases, is it not evident that violence puts itself in the place of law?

Then do not hope, ye English libellers, to abuse the human race, by endeavouring to persuade them, that in the French Republic, under the dominion of laws which it is about to proclaim, individuals will not enjoy their fortunes, their liberty, and their existence in peace, because for many months some relentless tyrants, who profited by the exasperation

peration of a people; invaded, outraged, and betrayed, spread over our country the combined horrors of despotism and of anarchy.

Europe will not be so blind as to believe that it is the mere name of a Republic that has engendered all those evils. She has been too well tutored to detest Nero, Caligula, Attila, Louis XI. Charles IX. and the other crowned monsters, more cruel, if possible, than our ferocious Decemvirs. The state of the three first centuries in Rome, the long and invariable prosperity of Venice, the happy and respected tranquillity of the Swiss, the repose which the unfortunates of Europe seek amongst the United States of America; all reasons drawn from experience, and every argument from sound theory, demonstrate the weakness of this multiplied abuse, which only tends to disquiet the landholder—to enflame the violent—and to perpetuate this dreadful crusade, which, to the astonishment of the 18th century, has been formed against liberty.

What! are property and persons to be considered as less secure in a country where every man has a right to watch over their constitution, than in those where a single man can dispose of them according to his own will, or the passions of his courtiers? I will not insult the human understanding, by taking pains to destroy so miserable a sophism. I shall not follow the easy route which would lead me to push this comparison to its last term, and to prove under what form of government the rights of individuals are certain to be respected or violated. Let Europe see in this reserve the sincerity of the engagement which we have contracted, to abandon all useless recrimination—and to shun every thing that may tend to propagate our opinions at the expence of the tranquillity of other countries. We adhere to our form of government, because we look on it as the best; but we respect those which other nations wish to preserve, and form no other wish, than that they may render them happy. Sage policy should counsel the ministers of kings, to imitate that moderation of which we agree to set the example. A veil is more necessary to them than to us. Discussion to them would be dangerous. Reason and history furnish us with arms, of which they would do well to shun the conflict.

Since they reproach us with propagating Republicanism, which we reserve with joy and prudence to ourselves, prudence should warn them not to preach up Royalism, or to seek to prove, that no man can exist in safety in a Republic, or live in peace with Republicans. This attack, which must revolt every man by its injustice, may compel us to reprisals; the necessity of which our wish for peace would incline us to avoid.

The Ministers of the Coalition committed a grand mistake, when they avowed that the present was a war of kings, and of the privileged *Castes* against the people. By that declaration they risked the danger of seeing themselves placed in a fearful minority. May they, for the happiness of mankind and peace of Europe, profit by the lessons of experience, and subdue their passions, as we labour to master ours. May all governments at length, losing sight of vain declamations,
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have no rivalship but in proving that they can all contribute to the happiness of the human race.

POWERS of EUROPE!—You all suffer the calamities of that war which you have declared. You who regret the treasures which you have spent, the blood which you have shed, and the tears which you have caused to flow, open your eyes to the snares which are laid for you by the English Ministry. They tell you that it is impossible to live in peace with Republicans; they conjure you to be on your guard against the seduction of our principles, the ambition of our government, and the intrigues of our emissaries. Oh! do not suffer yourselves to be deceived, either by the dangerous counsels of this *Egotistical* ally, or by the explosion which your attacks have so often drawn from our justified resentment. The past and the present must answer to you for the future.

Review the pages of history; you will see all Republics occupied by their internal activity; instead of disturbing the repose of their neighbours, being too often harassed by them. It was only in consequence of repeated attacks, disasters, and invasions, that Rome was at length obliged to pursue a system of conquest which covered her with glory, but which ended in her ruin. Athens, Venice, Switzerland, and Holland, have often seen other powers combined against them, but were never the first in the attack.

The invasions of the Persians and Macedonians, the league of Cambray, the efforts of Germany, the repeated incursions of the English, the Spaniards, and the French, form the prominent features in the history of Republics. It furnishes, on the contrary, but few examples which can be quoted, to justify the anxiety which our enemies are solicitous to promulgate. Reflect on the events of this war:—France outraged, menaced, and invaded, has repulsed all her enemies, and carried her standards in every part far—far, indeed, from her frontiers. When she appeared every where victorious, look into our treaty with the King of Prussia, whose well-founded apprehensions inclined him to withdraw his forces—with Holland, whom we had conquered—with Spain, many of whose provinces were in our possession. Judge from our conduct, whether we can be charged with a mad desire for conquest, and whether you cannot count with reliance on our wisdom and moderation. Examine by your agents into the measures adopted by our envoys with those powers who have preserved their neutrality; and afterwards decide from these known facts, whether the British Ministry are treacherous or sincere; and whether our conduct does not answer as victoriously as our arms to their fatal artifices.

Already a great part of Europe, seeing the prejudices of an unjust hatred, acknowledges the falsehood of these Machavelian accusations, opens its eyes to its true interests; wearied with fighting to indulge the passions of a minister, it renounces the mad system of destroying opinions by the sword; and is disposed to restore to Europe the blessings of peace; of which it has been so long and so cruelly deprived, by this deplorable crusade.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany has given to the Princes of Italy an example which does honour to his humanity and his wisdom. The

King

King of Prussia, braving the outcry of deceived ambition, and of impotent hatred, of pride and of despair, has re-entered into the only system of policy which suited his situation. He at length saw his error in attacking his ally, and his natural support; and in following the dangerous counsels of Austria, his eternal foe; and of Russia, his secret enemy, who encouraged him to exhaust himself against us, only that they the more easily may effect his ruin. The friendship which we offer—the services which we can render him—the hatred of the three powers, whose projects he has disconcerted; and the prayers of all Germany, whose wounds he is called on to bind up, and which he is to lead with him into a system of pacification, of which he has given the first example, are so many inducements to him, to be firm and persevering in the new path on which he has entered.

Artful politicians have sought to inspire him with alarms, with respect to the effects which his separation from the coalesced powers may produce. But the majority which he has attained in the Diet of the empire must have fully demonstrated to him, how little their fears were founded in truth, and in what light his conduct has been viewed by public opinion. If other persons, informed of the new and extensive plan formed to overthrow our government, have sought to stagger his opinion, and to inspire him with doubts respecting the solidity of our power—our triumphs in the colonies, the victory of Quiberon, and our new treaties of peace, will prove to him sufficiently the weakness of those dreams, and of those chimerical hopes which are cradled only in the vanity of our enemies.

The King of Spain, sacrificing his private feelings, and his family resentments, to the true interests of the nation, has merited the esteem of all the friends to humanity. He has renewed those intercourse of friendship which reason, nature, and policy, ought to have made indissoluble; and by this very proceeding he has destroyed the criminal hopes of the English Ministry, who, sacrificing the real happiness and the riches of England to their personal ambition, thought they had reached the moment when they could immortalize their names, by planting the British standard on the ruins of our devastated colonies. Spain, ever candid in her policy and in war, never disguised her praise-worthy designs under those useless veils, seen through by the world, and with which the followers of the diplomatic system seek to cover themselves in vain.

Spain has publicly declared, that she was induced only by our common interests to renew the alliance between the two nations; she has declared to the universe that she relied, by her mediation, on bringing about a peace with the states of Italy, and delivering the south of Europe from the scourge of war. The republic of Venice forms the same wishes. Almost all the princes of the empire, wearied with fighting for the interests of the House of Austria, for some rights of little value, and for the honour of the emigrants, no longer disguise their wishes to see a peace established with that power which has ever preserved them from the yoke with which they have been so long menaced by the House of Austria.

They see by our treaties that we are not guided by the spirit of conquest, and that the safety of our frontiers, and our wishes to make no other than a durable peace, dictate, more than our successes, the conditions we shall accept.

Holland, restored by her misfortunes and the faults of her government to her former energy, united to us by an indissoluble alliance, and founded on the same love of equality, joins her efforts to ours to recover the freedom of the seas, and to give a solid foundation to the peace which it is our wish to offer to the world.

Sweden and Denmark, who have never departed from a humane, wise and respectable neutrality, bear with impatience the pride and the menaces of the Cabinets of Russia and England, which would dictate to them laws as contrary to justice as to the prosperity of their commerce. They perceive that their interest attaches them to our fate, and that the support of France will be always necessary to them to escape from that humiliating sovereignty which England and Russia would wish to establish in the north of Europe.

The Porte, indignant at the usurpation of the Muscovites in Poland, and at the projects of the Empress of Russia against the Ottoman Empire, renews with us its former friendship; and if those ambitious plans do not yield to the counsels of reason and humanity, she can, in concert with us and other powers, overthrow in a short time this glorious edifice, more imposing by its brilliancy and extent, than by its actual solidity.

Such is the present picture of Europe, sketched without art, and presented without disguise. While some courts mutually deceive each other, change their connections, their views, and their hopes, according to events and passions, the French government, listening to no particular affection, invariable in her policy, and immovable as a rock amidst the agitation of the waves which surround her without disturbing her foundations, will never follow any interest but that of the general happiness, will attend only to the love of peace and humanity, will support only the oppressed, and combat only the ambitious. She must of course successively rally around her all those governments who wish for the reestablishment of an *equilibrium* in Europe, and for the maintenance of general tranquillity. She must finally take her rank among those pacific powers who are destined to exempt the human race from those numberless wars by which it has been dishonoured.

The only *shadow* in this *picture* is the triple alliance which has been formed between the courts of Vienna, London, and Petersburg. The union of these three powers may appear at first view to give some solidity to their plans, and to form a considerable weight in the balance of Europe. But in considering the alliance more nearly, looking to the elements of which it is composed, the space which separates the contracting powers, the opposition of their secret views, the want of sincerity in their friendship, and the consequent absence of amity in their plans, instead of dreading the result, we must see with satisfaction, that this alliance, which can no longer be injurious to us, has unmasked their ambitious projects, and warned all Europe to be upon its guard against their enterprizes.

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The coalition was greatly in error, when they believed that the Empress of Russia would ever serve them effectually. It was for her that the coalesced powers were labouring, and not for themselves; and her character was too different from that of our adversaries, to admit the belief that she would ever render them effective assistance. But let us be as sincere with respect to the qualities as the faults of our enemies. We should learn to know them, to understand how much we have to fear.

Catharine, celebrated by her political finesse, and the extent of her ambition, has aimed at every species of glory. For a long time she has given to Europe the rare spectacle of reason and philosophy, seated on a despotic throne. She has almost realized the idea of a national representation, by assembling around her deputies from all parts of the empire, to consult them on the laws which were in her contemplation.—She found in Montesquieu all the basis of her code. She has disposed of the property of the clergy, and suppressed their superstition. She invited Diderot to her court, and wished to confide the education of her son to D'Alembert! She has established toleration, and prohibited duels—she has consecrated the right to petition—in fine, she has attempted to destroy the slavery of the peasant, but could not obtain this victory over the noblesse of her empire.

With such principles, Catharine could never entertain a genuine hatred for a courageous nation, which has shed its blood for the purpose of establishing in practice the precepts of a philosophy which she has herself professed. Our revolution could never have given her any personal anxiety. The lights which had prepared it, notwithstanding all their splendour, were too distant to reach to Russia to excite discussions on the rights of the people, or to make them feel the value of liberty. We are placed, she at the one end of Europe, and we at the other. We have directly no subject of difficulty or discord: we, therefore, ought to be friends.

Catharine is, besides, too dextrous a politician to see with satisfaction, either that France should be dismembered, and incapable of giving that support which she may need against the powers of Germany re-acting against her—Or that England should acquire the absolute empire of the seas, and be afterwards in a condition to shut her up in the ice of the North, and arbitrarily to dispose of her commerce. She cannot wish, like the English cabinet, on whose ministers she sets little value, to see a feeble monarchy take place amongst us, instead of a flourishing and peaceable Republic, from which she has much to hope and little to fear.—What Catharine had in view events have fully proved.

This princess, who unfortunately for the world, has not contented herself with the glory of a legislator, and who has preferred the false, though brilliant celebrity of conquest, has ever deceived the coalition. She amused herself with the passions of the belligerent powers, while she profited by them to execute her vast projects. Her evident desire has been to overthrow the *crescent*, and to extend her dominion over that empire. She has flattered the pride of the emigrant,

grants by pompous embassies, while she gave them nothing but the permission to go and people her deserts. She has sharpened the wrath of the courts of Berlin and Vienna—has excited them to war—has caused them to drain their treasuries and to exhaust their armies, making them hope for succours which they have never received.—When she saw them in a state of incapacity to counteract her designs, she immediately possessed herself of Poland. She was assured by that step, either of a free communication for her troops, whenever she should find a proper time for marching against Constantinople—or of a throne for her grandson, if the pacification, which she fears, and which she retards, should prevent her from realizing the plans of her *colossal* ambition.

England saw with pain, and even Mr. Pitt himself with embarrassment, the ruin of Poland—the destruction of a free people—and the danger of Turkey. He once wished to arm the Turks against Russia, and notwithstanding the existing alliance between Russia and England, these two powers, which mutually sport with each other, preserved the leaven of hatred, and motives of disunion, which must ever prevent the friendship from attaining to a perfect solidity.

The Court of Vienna, disconcerted in her projects, and deceived in her hopes, sees not without displeasure the aggrandizement of Russia; the former coveted Loraine, and Alsace and Brabant is lost to her for ever. She continues her diversions against us, in favour of England, who pays her; but she sighs to see that she can retain no hope of an indemnification in Bavaria, an attempt which, if made, would turn against her the arms of all the powers of the empire, and that soon she will be forced to make peace without recovering her possessions that have been invaded, and without having any other indemnity than her usurpations in Poland—usurpations of which Turkey, and even Russia, will sooner or later dispute her enjoyment, or which the genius of liberty will shortly ravish from her oppression.

Behold, citizens, the real position of these three newly-allied courts—a position which other leagues, more united and more wise, may soon render most critical. You behold the unsolid foundations of this new coalition, disunited from its birth, and to which we oppose the heroism of our warriors, the force of a good constitution, the tranquil firmness of a numerous people, who have sworn to be free, and which it *will* be, in despite of all the efforts of their enemies.—The people have devoted themselves to every sacrifice, have born every privation, have braved every danger, and will surmount all the obstacles which offer to arrest their progress. Those who wished to oppress them, have experienced their vengeance; those who thought to destroy them, shall serve as the pedestal to their power: and all the blows which have been aimed to demolish them, shall only strengthen the base, and cement for ever the edifice of their liberty.

May the powers with whom we are still engaged meditate with wisdom over the picture which I have sketched—may the love of humanity, stifling at length their destructive resentment—their chimerical

cal ambition—and their idle plans of invasion and revenge—lead them to place no more obstacles in the way of peace, and of the accomplishment of the wishes which we make for the repose of Europe, and for their own happiness.

For us, who have repulsed with so much glory the last efforts made for our destruction;—for us, whom moderation renders as indulgent as our victories have made us formidable, let us cease to derive from abroad, the fears which can only be nurtured in the midst of us. The hope of the enemies of our revolution can no longer be placed in that of succour from foreign powers: what I have said has fully proved this truth. But it is time to examine to what degree, when they are deprived of such a support, their efforts should appear to us as dangerous.

At a moment, when, obedient to the wishes of the people, and directed by that sentiment of eternal justice by which you are actuated, you have banished from the midst of you all those whose past conduct was in contradiction to the principles on which you are about to found the imperishable fabric of public liberty; it is necessary, more than ever, to proclaim these same principles, for the purpose of announcing to the whole nation what she has a right to expect from you;—to prove that the severity which you have displayed did not arise from any prepossessions of party—to extirpate from your bosom the very seeds of that distrust, with which they would divide you for the purpose of your destruction.

In vain have you repulsed the external attempts of the coalition which you have conquered, if you leave within the secret motives of division and of hatred. In combating and unmasking the external enemies that threaten you, it is necessary to mark their accomplices who dare to act in the interior.

What hopes can now remain to those who wish to establish royalty amongst us? and, first, we are to understand by royalists those hordes of assassins, who openly engage with us under the name of Chouans and Vendéans, and those who conduct in the interior plots either more or less dangerous—those who borrow the language of fanaticism, to mislead weak minds—those cowardly, or those ferocious Emigrants, supported by England, who dare to violate our territory, or who, introducing themselves amongst us by favour of our clemency, sharpen under our eyes the poinards that are destined for our assassination. We can neither misunderstand the existence, or despise the fury of those men, since they have succeeded in staining, by murder, in some cities in the South of France, the happy days which we have enjoyed since the 9th Thermidor—those who are our irreconcilable enemies, whom nothing can convert. Their only wish is for our destruction; they breathe nothing but vengeance; they meditate only the ruin and the dismemberment of their country; they attach themselves to every party; they wear every garb, even that of *demagogism*, under which they foment insurrection and revolt. But the firmness of the government which you are about to organize, the strength of the laws, and the immovable courage of our warriors, must ensure our triumph over them. The blow which is to strike them must annihilate them for ever,

ever. New forces shall be employed, and you will not suffer the interior of the country to be longer dishonoured by the presence of those traitors. But in your vengeance you will not confound them with men who are merely weak—with those who may be named Royalists, if their opinions only are considered, but who should be deemed Republicans, if you look to their respect for the laws.

There are men who love not the Republic, because this idea is connected in their mind with that of storms, and of troubles, and of faction; the shade of the decemvirs still pursues them; they are terrified by the hideous torch of anarchy, and deceived by the crimes of those villains who have stained the cradle of our liberty with blood. They regard another order of things, as the only possible foundation of that tranquillity of which they are anxious. To recal to you those citizens who are thus deceived, and for whose mistake our prolonged misfortunes furnish an excuse—while their error prevents not their obedience to the laws—it is necessary to organize your government, that it may protect weakness, assure innocence, punish guilt, and exterminate anarchy.

Prove to those incredulous men, who, favouring the first achievements of Liberty amongst us, were afterwards stayed by their pusillanimity, and retreated through weakness from the vast progress of the Republic;—prove to them, that this liberty which they cherished formerly, is not incompatible with the tranquillity which they now demand. Let it be demonstrated to them, that the establishment of the Republic can alone assure their repose and confirm their happiness, while its overthrow, if it were possible, instead of bringing back the peaceable return of that royalty which has been so justly proscribed, would produce only the fatal return of dissensions, of civil war, of conspiracies, of proscriptions, and revenge. It would tear the sides of our unfortunate country, only to open an entrance to barbarous foreigners, who are desirous to subject us to the fate of unfortunate Poland.

But the Republic, which the courage of some men has conceived, which the heroism of our armies has cemented, which the nation has consecrated by every act which could manifest its adherence, and which destiny itself appears to have taken pains to consolidate; this Republic will not now commit itself with that vague theory which induces those minds to despair who are still enslaved by former habits. It is a government in action, which has conquered the most ancient governments on the surface of the globe. It no longer environs itself with the apparatus of death, with which it was surrounded by ferocious tyrants, who regarded liberty with abhorrence.

That important day, the 9th Thermidor, has absolved the genius of France from the crimes of her oppressors: and the constitution which you are about to submit to the acceptance of the people will cicatrize her wounds, and guarantee the reign of the laws. It is since the 9th Thermidor that the Republic has made her fairest and most precious conquests; so many families delivered from dungeons, and restored to freedom—from dungeons whence they were not formerly delivered, but to go to the scaffold; so many virtuous men recalled to life, as if from

from their graves, astonished to find yet sensitive beings, and blessing the humane legislators who, themselves restored to freedom, give freedom to all: these sacred alliances formed in the depth of prisons—these lessons of equality given by misfortune—these seats of calamity, where every one took his place, and drank in turn from the same cup of adversity—this union formed by the necessity of resistance to tyrants who burned to seize their prey—these are the ties which would now unite all good men of every opinion under the standard of the Republic, and these are their new trophies. They mingle themselves in my idea with the symbols of glory which are suspended from this roof, (*the standards of the conquered countries*) which the heroism of our armies has achieved.

Every thing which banished from the Republic; every thing which disquieted cool and reasoning minds, should now attach them to her. Do they feel the horrors of civil war? Royalty now presents only a series of intestine commotion. Do they feel the necessity of bringing to perfection the established government? The Republican constitution contains the seed of good laws. Do they regard with pride the name of *French*? The Republic has given it lustre by every species of triumph. Royalism is a criminal, degraded, and execrable faction; it is divided in its view, and uncertain in its proceedings; it can no longer attack us by indirect means, or strengthen itself by those it has already employed. The vigilance of government ought now to extend to its secret manœuvres, to unravel its plots, to punish its chiefs, and repel its aggressions.

There is another faction, not less odious, which regrets and wishes to reestablish the frightful reign of Robespierre. It unites itself to Royalism, to advance with it to the same point, the reestablishment of any tyranny which can be exercised under the name of its leaders. This faction avails itself of every excess, and of the anxieties which they inspire. It is composed of informers, and incessantly offers the aid of its informations. It is composed of men who, wishing to avoid avenging justice, conjure up wrongs of every kind, that their own may be thrown into oblivion. Their object is, that the Convention should give, by its internal division, the signal for those which they wish to propagate in France. They wish that the government should make itself arbitrary, that they may make it odious. Such is the hope of our enemies, whatever may be their standard or their livery.

The *Terrorists* wish to postpone the establishment of a wise constitution, that the course of justice (which they fear) may be still suspended, and that alarms of every kind may be revived amongst the citizens, bringing in their train disorder, anarchy, and oppression. They wish that the *system of suspicion* may become a part of our political code, because they think it necessary to the maintenance of their abominable doctrines. It is their desire that the government, being itself terrified, should appeal to the succour of that class of men who call robbery and assassination by the names of energy and patriotism; and that thus, instead of being watched over themselves, as they are at this day, they may to-morrow take the guardianship of their fellow-citizens; that is to say, that they may have the power of falling again upon the prey which they have already but half plundered.

An arbitrary power usurped by the Convention, suggests to *Royalism* that liberty would become less dear to the French in proportion as they were deprived of its reality; that liberty would every day lose its friends amongst virtuous and enlightened men, in proportion as it required support from robbers. They think that the new tyranny which may be thus established could not be overturned, but to give place to the detestable royalty for which they still dare to combat.

I have thus traced to you their foolish and their criminal hopes. I shudder myself at the blind delirium which causes men, who can live under a Government, whose duration is secured by its justice, to wish for a ferocious system, which must be as violently overthrown. But, such a delirium exists—there are men, to whom, without living to exercise acts of vigour, without visiting their particular hatreds, without oppressing others, life seems but a lengthened punishment. Let this punishment be their own; let us not give them the opportunity which they expect, of being victims in one moment, to become in the next oppressors. Let us suppress them all at once with the strict severity of justice.

A good government is just and firm; it is not arbitrary. It ought to be at once the hope and resource of good citizens, and the terror of the bad: to govern is not to tyrannize; it is to execute the laws dictated by justice.

But the severity of government excludes neither humanity nor justice. Think, Representatives of the People, you who wish to transmit to your successors the sacred deposit of national liberty, placed under the guard of every virtue, reflect, that we may attach by kindness the enemies whom we cannot subdue by punishment; reflect on all the acts of justice and humanity which we have consecrated since the 9th Thermidor? Have you to deplore the consequences of any one of them? Our fierce decemvirs had sent to the scaffold thousands of individuals, and appropriated to themselves their bloody spoils; these you have rejected. You have restored to the orphan the inheritance of his father, and this decree has conquered for you a great number of enemies, on which you were still to reckon; it has enlightened those whom resentment had misled; it has caused the ministers of Kings to tremble, on seeing the numberless friends which your justice was about to conciliate.

Pursue then, you who love the Republic—you, who, enamoured of her, wish to spread the sacred enthusiasm—pursue this course of beneficence, which every day obtains for you new partisans. Look to the code of revolutionary laws, planned for fifteen months by tyranny, and see if there does not yet remain many acts of injustice to repair. Let each of us devote himself to this research, and let long and sleepless nights find us incessantly occupied in this philanthropic labour.

Before the revolution many illustrious men were engaged in unveiling the horrors of a criminal jurisprudence, at once arbitrary, ferocious, and tyrannical. They had shewn the horrors of the question by torture—of the prejudices which extended the punishment of the guilty to their innocent families. Do you believe that the code of your oppressors does offer tracts of barbarism as dark as those of our former

former criminal jurisprudence? Are all their losses yet effaced? Are there not thousands of victims who accuse you of injustice, and murmur at your delays?

Hasten then to receive their appeals: a few days will pass, and others will be the depositaries of national authority. Do not leave to them the honour of causing those crimes to be forgotten, under which you yourselves have so long suffered. It belongs to you, who have overthrown Robespierre, who have been persecuted and proscribed by him, to blot from the memory of France the mischiefs which he has committed.

The tribunal of posterity to which you will be called, will fix its regard on the last steps of your career. At once severe and just, it will not impute to you the evils of which you have not been the cause; it will condemn you only for the mischiefs which you have not repaired.

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